

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 216458 TOSEC 250010

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY, TU, GR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: NEXT
STEPS (S/S NO.7618436)

TO THE SECRETARY FM HARTMAN

1.THE PROBLEM. THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL IS PROVIDED AS AN
EXPLANATION AND ELABORATION OF THE SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN
THE BRIEFING PAPER YOU HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED (SEPTTEL) FOR
YOUR MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 2 WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALD-
HEIM.

2. BACKGROUND. SEVERAL FACTORS HAVE LED US TO BELIEVE THAT
YOU SHOULD MAKE A MAJOR PITCH TO WALDHEIM TO GET THE CYPRUS
NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED SOME TIME IN SEPTEMBER:

--1. THE DUTCH CHARGE IN WASHINGTON PROVIDED US WITH A RE-
PORT OF AN UNSUCCESSFUL MEETING ON AUGUST 27 BETWEEN THE
DUTCH PERMREP IN NEW YORK, SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE EC-9,
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AND WALDHEIM. WALDHEIM TOLD THE DUTCH PERMREP THAT THE TWO

SIDES ARE SO FAR APART THAT NOTHING IS TO BE GAINED BY RE-
CONVENING THE TALKS UNTIL AFTER THE UNGA. HE SAID IN ANY
EVENT HE WAS UNWILLING TO MAKE A STRONG EFFORT TO DO SO.
IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT WHATEVER OTHER REASONS WALDHEIM MIGHT

HAVE, HE SEEMS CONVINCED THAT
SHOULD HE FORCE THE ISSUE
NOW, HE WILL DESTROY HIS ABILITY TO SERVE AS AN INTERMEDI-
ARY IN THE FUTURE.

--2. RECENT EVIDENCE FROM ATHENS, ANKARA AND NICOSIA SUP-
PORTS THE NOTION THAT THE TWO PARTIES, EACH FOR ITS OWN
REASONS, MIGHT ATTEND A MEETING IN NEW YORK UNDER WALDHEIM'
AEGIS IN SEPTEMBER. THE NEXT STEP THEN WOULD BE TO CON-
VINCE WALDHEIM THAT SOME EFFORT MUST BE MADE IN THE NEAR
FUTURE.

--3. DIRECTOR OF THE CYPRIOT FOREIGN MINISTRY, GEORGE
PELAGHIAS, TOLD ME AT DINNER FRIDAY EVENING AUGUST 27 THAT
A NEW INITIATIVE SHOULD BE TRIED, PERHAPS UTILIZING THE
SET OF PRINCIPLES YOU ENUNCIATED IN YOUR UNGA SPEECH OF
SEPTEMBER 22, 1975.

3. IDEAS TO EXPLORE. ALL OF THESE FACTORS WOULD SEEM TO
POINT TO THE DESIRABILITY OF YOUR ENGAGING WALDHEIM IN A
DISCUSSION OF HOW YOU OR HE, OR THE TWO OF YOU TOGETHER,
MIGHT TRY TO UNBLOCK THE CYPRUS TALKS IN NEW YORK THIS
COMING MONTH. THERE ARE REALLY THREE IDEAS WE THINK WORTH
EXPLORING:

--FIRST, USING AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION A SET OF PRINCIPLE
DEVELOPED FOLLOWING A DISCUSSION YOU HAD IN OSLO WITH
DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL IN MAY. AT THAT TIME
YOU EXPLORED WITH HIM THE POSSIBILITY OF THE US AND EC-9
JOINTLY PROPOSING THAT SUCH A SET OF PRINCIPLES BE PRO-
POSED AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, POSSIBLY USING WALD-
HEIM'S GOOD OFFICES.

--SECONDLY, UTILIZING YOUR OWN SET OF PRINCIPLES OF LAST
SEPTEMBER. THESE COULD BE PUT INTO PLAY BY WALDHEIM OR BY
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YOU IN MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO CYPRIOT
COMMUNITIES IN NEW YORK. PELAGHIAS' SUGGESTION THAT THE
SEPTEMBER 22 PRINCIPLES BE USED IS AN INDICATION OF THE
GREEK SIDE'S PLEASURE WITH THESE THEMES. THE TURKISH SIDE
WAS NOT PARTICULARLY ENTHUSIASTIC WHEN YOU ENUNCIATED
THESE PRINCIPLES. THE SET DRAFTED FOLLOWING YOUR VAN DER
STOEL DISCUSSION, WHILE MODELED ON THE SEPTEMBER 22 PRIN-
CIPLES, IS CALCULATED TO BE LESS OFFENSIVE TO THE TURKS.

THE TEXTS OF BOTH SETS OF PRINCIPLES ARE PROVIDED BELOW.

--THIRD, THE STUDY GROUP IDEA. YOU WILL RECALL THAT
AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD OUTLINED THE IDEA OF FORMING A THREE-
NATION STUDY GROUP, ONE MEMBER EACH DESIGNATED BY THE TWO

CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES, AND A CHAIRMAN CHOSEN BY WALDHEIM.
SUCH A GROUP WOULD PRESUMABLY VISIT THE AREA AND PREPARE A
SET OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PARTIES. CRAWFORD'S IDEA
WAS COINED IN TERMS OF A "NON-ALIGNED STUDY GROUP." THE
IDEA MIGHT BE BROACHED TO WALDHEIM WITH A SUGGESTION THAT HE
CONVENE ONAN AND PAPADOPOULOS AND INDICATE TO THEM THAT
FURTHER INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS UNDER HIS AEGIS AT THIS POINT
SEEMED UNLIKELY TO PRODUCE A BREAKTHROUGH. THEREFORE,
RATHER THAN ENGAGE IN A STERILE DIALOGUE, IT MIGHT BE BET-
TER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A TEAM TO BE SENT TO THE FIELD
TO DRAW UP A SET OF RECOMMENDATIONS -- EITHER SUBSTANTIVE
OR PROCEDURAL -- WHICH COULD BE GIVEN TO THE PARTIES.
WALDHEIM, ONAN AND PAPADOPOULOS COULD THEN DISCUSS THE
MAKEUP OF SUCH A COMMITTEE.

4. RECOMMENDATION. THAT YOU RAISE ALL OF THESE MATTERS
WITH WALDHEIM WITH A VIEW TO DEVELOPING WITH HIM A PLAN OF
ACTION COVERING THE SEPTEMBER PERIOD.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

5. TEXT OF SEPTEMBER 22 PRINCIPLES

--1. A SETTLEMENT MUST PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVER-
EIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS;

--2. IT MUST ENSURE THAT BOTH THE GREEK-CYPRIOT AND THE
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TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE
A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS;

--3. THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES CANNOT BE PERMANENT.
THERE MUST BE AGREED TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH RE-
FLECT THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE GREEK-CYPRIOT COM-
MUNITY AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF ITS SELF-RESPECT;

--4. THERE MUST BE PROVISION FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOR-
EIGN MILITARY FORCES OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER THE
AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS;

--5. AND THERE MUST BE SECURITY FOR ALL CYPRIOTS; THE
NEEDS AND WISHES OF THE REFUGEES WHO HAVE BEEN THE PRINCIPAL
VICTIMS AND WHOSE TRAGIC PLIGHT TOUCHES US ALL MUST BE

DEALT WITH SPEEDILY AND WITH COMPASSION.

6. TEXT OF MODIFIED PRINCIPLES:

--1. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE ALL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH A VIEW TO ARRIVING AT PACKAGE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS;

--2. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE A TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS AND SELF RESPECT OF THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES, RECOGNIZING THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES MUST BE ADJUSTED TO REDUCE, BY SOME MEASURE, THE AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE TURKISH SIDE AND PROVIDE FOR THE RETURN OF A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF REFUGEES.

--3. WITH THE COMPLETION OF MUTUALLY AGREED BOUNDARY RECTIFICATIONS, THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL SYSTEM ON A BIZONAL BASIS, WITH RELATIVELY AUTONOMOUS ZONES AND A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE TWO COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

--4. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO DISCUSS THE CONDITIONS
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UNDER WHICH PERSONS CAN BE RESETTLED IN SAFETY, AND CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FREE CIRCULATION OF PERSONS ON THE ISLAND MAY BE ASSURED.

--5. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

7. DRAFTED:EUR/SE:JHMORTON. CLEARED:EUR/SE:NCLEDSKY;
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